



No. 1,219 London, Nov. 6, 1959 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

ACTS FOR PEACE

An Editorial

THE RESULT OF THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION HAS POSED IN A SEVERE WAY FOR ADVOCATES OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT A QUESTION THAT HAS ALWAYS FACED POLITICAL MINORITIES — WHAT CAN THEY DO TO FURTHER THEIR AIMS WHEN THERE IS NO IMMEDIATE PROSPECT OF OBTAINING GOVERNMENTAL POWER ?

So far they have been able to avoid this question. They have argued that since the Labour Party was the most sympathetic Party to nuclear disarmament, the first step was to return a Labour Government to power.

This strategy has proved a failure. What now? Do we have to wait for another five years before we have any real hope of nuclear disarmament (this is to avoid the question of whether the Labour Party is the real hope of nuclear disarmament)? Will the campaign last that long?

We believe these questions are false. The nuclear disarmament movement does not have to wait on the achievement of governmental power.

There are four actions at present occurring (or occurring soon) which allow campaigners to take effective action both for nuclear disarmament and aims that are closely related.

1. The non-violent action which the Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War has announced will take place on January 2.
2. The boycott of South African goods which the Committee of African Organisations is sponsoring in Britain on behalf of the South African Congress.
3. The non-violent protest against the testing of the French A-bomb in the Sahara.
4. The continuous campaign that is run by the various war on want organisations.

For British people the non-violent protest on Jan. 2 at the Harrington rocket base is vitally important. The protest will make it plain that the depth of feeling against nuclear weapons is as strong as ever it was. If many more people take part than took part in the Swaffham actions, it would be a sign that the re-election of a Conservative Government has made people even more strongly determined to get rid of H-bombs. Blue Streak rockets and all the other hideous paraphernalia of mass destruction.

Challenge now

Such a challenge to the Government is particularly important now. Mr. Macmillan has tried very hard to suggest that Britain is a cosy, comfortable society where all the major problems have been solved. A non-violent protest will break up the cosy comfortable atmosphere and point to one problem—the only problem that matters seriously, the problem of human survival.

There has been some correspondence about the boycott of South African goods in The Guardian recently. The most depressing feature of the correspondence has been the way people have tried to avoid taking the boycott seriously.

"The idea of boycotting goods is all very well, but where does it end?" wrote one correspondent. "Why stop at South Africa? Russia and China leave a lot to be desired. Spain and Portugal are undoubtedly rather nasty politically. . . . It seems to me that if we carry this to its logical conclusion, some of us are going to get very hungry!"

There is one simple answer: In South Africa the Congress movement considers this to be a useful method of protest and

To the Editor

It was clear from the Election that people are more concerned about their bank balances than about nuclear war or peace.

A great deal of public apathy has got to be penetrated before people in Britain take the question of the H-bomb seriously. People must recognise their personal responsibility for the situation we are in and stop shelving it on to the Government and policy-makers.

So on Saturday, Jan. 2, we are asking all who believe in unilateral nuclear disarmament to take part in a non-violent radical demonstration at Harrington rocket base (near Rothwell, Northants). We believe that a demonstration in which many men and women show they care enough about the threat of nuclear war to run the risk of serious personal hardship will bring the issue home to others: will show them that the H-bomb is not something so immense and remote that ordinary people can do nothing about it.

If this demonstration is to "get through" to people there must be a very large number of participants: many of them prepared to remain at the site for several days.

Any volunteers should contact the Direct Action Committee, 344 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4. Donations are also needed.

More detailed information about the protest will be available in the near future.—**PAT ARROWSMITH, Field Organiser, APRIL CARTER, Secretary, The Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.**

has asked for international support. Presumably movements against oppression in other countries do not feel this is a useful way forward for the moment. It is of course possible they may do so in the future. Then the situation envisaged by The Guardian's correspondent might come about.

We must meet that situation when it arises. The world does not allow for perfect solutions and anybody who works for fundamental change must, day to day, face a whole series of complex political and moral dilemmas. That they are complex and that we do not always make the right choice should not be an excuse for doing nothing.

Other correspondents to The Guardian have written that the only effect of their personal boycott has been to amuse their shopkeepers. Again, this should not be made an excuse for inactivity. The boycott has already had some successes. One major South African firm has come to terms with the Congress in order to gain exemption from the boycott. In Oxford it is reported that South African students are annoyed by the support that several of the University clubs are giving the boycott.

Even if we had not achieved these results, the boycott would have been worth while. If sane politics are to have a popular effect in this country, we must escape from the conventional political channels where almost



Pickets outside a London Underground station soon after the boycott of South African goods had been launched in Britain. Photo: John Cox

inevitably the same people have been talking to each other over many years. People who have decided that except for voting once every five years, politics is something that they can safely leave to the "politicos" must be approached. There is no better way of doing this than at the grass roots level of local shops.

This is not to say that we should be content to leave the matter at a personal level. It is the duty of every member of the Co-operative Society, trade union movement, etc., to see that his organisation supports the boycott.

French test

The non-violent protest against French testing could be a good example of how local voluntary action can have an impact on "official" international politics. On arrival in Ghana, two of the protesters, Michael Randie and Francis Hoyland, were given a tremendous reception by the Ghanaians. If the project is properly handled, the strong feelings the African people already have might be so aroused by the (possible) arrest of the demonstrators that the African Governments would make a very strong protest in the United Nations about the French test. Since the two power blocs are very keen to gain the support of uncommitted powers like the African nations, such a protest in the United Nations would certainly have a political effect.

(The Russian position in the face of such a protest would be a strong one because of

its attitude to further nuclear testing—but what would be the attitude of Britain and the United States? Would they support further nuclear testing by France which would open the gate to a flood of new nuclear powers. The sooner they are put in this embarrassing position the better.)

But more is needed. In the insane world we live in, as the rich countries get richer, the poor countries get poorer. Every day people die from lack of food and proper medical attention. We can do something directly about this; £1 will buy 240 meals for people, says the Oxford Committee for Famine relief. This is just one example of what might be done.

The work of the United Nations specialised agencies and the associated voluntary organisations are examples of some of the most creative action being undertaken in the world to-day. While it is important that individuals take personal action it is vital that collective action should be organised. The exhibition that the War on Want Council has organised for January 1960 will be a good opportunity for launching war on want locally.

These are four examples of actions that could have very profound effects: in creating a sense of human brotherhood; in making connections between the struggle against nuclear war and the struggle against colonialism; and in asserting life against death.

Who knows, if we are serious enough some day we might even be able to say "We never had it so good."

BLOODLESS REVOLUTION

Graham Martin ★ reviews

New English Dramatists. Ed. E. Martin Browne. 1959. Penguin Plays. 3s. 6d.

THE Penguin Play series promised "a balanced collection of modern plays from many countries," but neither of the first two collections looked very like fulfilling this useful aim. The most modern plays were Thomas Macdonagh's "Happy as Larry" (1947) and Fry's "A Phoenix too Frequent" (1946); the rest belonged to the thirties.

Six of the seven plays were by Englishmen, one by an Irishman, most of them were verse plays, and three were historical dramas in that sired-by-Bradley-out-of-Shakespeare manner which Eliot's criticism and Yeats' example have long ago outdated. But in this third volume, with plays by Doris Lessing, Arnold Wesker, and Bernard Kops, we not only get some truly modern plays, but two welcome illustrations of the return to English drama of serious naturalism.

It will take more than two of course... or, if we add John Osborne... three playwrights to demolish the "poetic" tradition. (Tennessee Williams' work shows just how "poetic" a prose play can be.) Bernard Kops is certainly a contemporary writer as to dates, and "The Hamlet of Stepney Green" is firmly within the "poetic" manner. But the work of Doris Lessing and Arnold Wesker is more than a straw on the wind. If their plays are what is meant by the "bloodless revolution in the English theatre," then the faster it goes on the better; and in making this evidence for it so quickly and so cheaply available, Penguin has done a commendable job.

Arnold Wesker's "Chicken Soup With Barley" (1958) dramatises the history of an East-End Jewish family between 1936 and 1956. The Kahns are Communists; and beginning with the time of the Popular Front against Fascism, the story relates their decline in political militancy over the subsequent years, as age, the war, "prosperity" under the Labour Government, sickness and the Cold War "unbent the springs of action."

Of her family and friends, only Sarah Kahn remains faithful to the cause. Despite their backsliding, despite a sick husband, despite Stalin, despite Hungary, and on that account, the final defection of her son Ronnie, Sarah can still insist that "you've got to care, you've got to care, or you'll die." And for her, "caring" means, as it has always meant, the Party.

Sarah's affirmation is thus the heart of the play in both its aspects. As a piece of social history in miniature, her life particularises one of the things Communism has meant in England; and as the voice of the

play's peculiarly topical moral, she guides its meaning into a political language, wholly free of the programmatic pieties of either Stalinist or "liberal" tenderpoesie. Necessarily then, Sarah's position is forcefully attacked by her friends and family.

Monty Blatt—in another type of play he could easily have been "a reactionary petit-bourgeois traitor"—is the one who underlines Sarah's vulnerable simplicity: "Someone told Sarah socialism was happiness so she joined the Party." Sarah's daughter, when her mother hails the 1945 victory with excited optimism ("It's only just beginning," she cries), retorts: "It's always only a beginning for the Party. Every defeat is a victory, and every victory is the beginning." (And as the rest of the argument shows, this irony is not cheap. Ada, in her own way, cares too.)

But, significantly, it is Sarah's husband who makes the most telling criticism. Harry Kahn is an example of that sick defeated resignation about life which his wife stands out against so finely. Yet it is he who says to his son, "You can't alter people, Ronnie. You can only give them some love and hope they'll take it," a remark which appropriately reflects upon the actual quality of Sarah's love for her husband. And finally it is Ronnie, spiritually as sick as his father, who voices the explicit attack on Sarah's position: "You've wanted everybody to be happy, but you've wanted them to be happy in your way. It was strawberries and cream for everyone—whether they liked it or not."

Wesker leaves these clashes of view-point unresolved, but not, certainly, because he thinks they don't matter. These different opinions belong to people, and people have particular histories, of which their opinions are only a part, and whose opposition it is therefore never easy—and it may even be morally obtuse—to reconcile into "a solution." After so much qualification, Sarah's affirmative cry is the beginning of a tragedy. And though the art of this play is not strong enough to concentrate on that insight, the fact that one can describe the closing scenes in such terms at all is sufficient evidence both of Wesker's potentiality, and of the direction in which his candid and sensitive naturalism can develop.

Meanwhile, in its own right, "Chicken Soup" is a good thing to have. For the social history alone, we could do with a hundred more.

Doris Lessing's theme in "Each His Own Wilderness" (1958) has points of contact with Wesker's, but in the comparison, and despite the community of attitude which both writers share, her play's message is a good deal less convincing. Again, political radicalism is the outward and visible sign of spiritual health; and again, it is a contemporary issue, the H-bomb, that focuses the conflict between the healthy and the sick. The milieu is that of the intellectual middle class, and the main situation of the play is the quarrel between Myra Bolton, a life-long socialist, and her son Tony, a youth too terrified by the contemporary world to pursue any goal but that of his own safety. (Tony is the other side of the current coin, angry-young-man; he is the frightened-young-man, and equally representative of his decade).

The playwright states the issues dividing Myra and Tony with a fine detachment. Each is an equally forceful advocate: Myra for her humane and untiring insistence on "caring" both for the important contemporary issues, and particularly for those

people who, in "caring," have had to struggle with an enemy more brutal than English apathy; and Tony, for his view that his mother's convictions involve, in the face of the calamities of the last 30 years, a myopic naivety, a silly optimism about human nature.

At this level, the play effectively recapitulates the commitment debate of the last three years. Its language is brisk, polished and witty; less vehement and more assured than Osborne's; as sensitive, but with a greater intellectual strength than Wesker's, it is an admirably accomplished idiom for tense theatrical argument.

At the same time, the play is more than a debate, and Tony's conflict with his mother is more than an argument about political attitudes. In his scared quietism we are meant to see the rationalisation of a less articulated conflict. Jealous of Myra's adult freedoms in love, possessively-infantile in his own emotional make-up, Tony is quite incapable of responding to the undemanding and intelligent affection his mother offers him. In this way, the play reinforces its political judgment of Tony—he represents a contemporary form of reaction—with a moral and psychological one: he is a young man who can't/won't grow up.

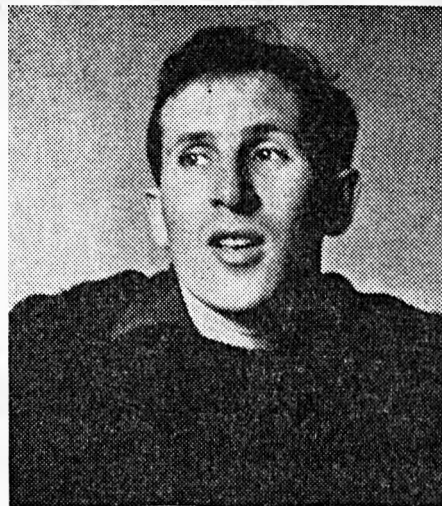
The play of ideas then leads into a play of character with a strongly analytical stress. But here the difficulties begin. The alleged naivety of Myra's politics does not damage her position any more than Monty Blatt's comment disposes of Sarah Kahn's socialism. But Myra is naive in another way as well. Tony is certainly immature, but he is not unreasonable in expecting that his mother should see him for the kind of person he is, should address her affections there, and not to some more gratifyingly adventurous image of a modern young man. Yet this is what she cannot do. Myra understands Tony so poorly that in order to give him a freedom he could never use, and which his character very clearly implies he does not want, she sells their home—in Tony's eyes the only stable thing on the horizon.

Here is a strike against Tony, of course: he can't recognise the stability in Myra's feeling for him; he must have the material sign of the house, Owned and Furnished with Things. But it is also a strike against Myra, and the play takes too little account of this. A parental love of such a quality is, to say the least, short-sighted: so little in touch with the child's actual needs that the satisfaction of these which it offers appears to the child as the worst of possible catastrophes. Accordingly, Tony's horrified and contemptuous rejection of this "freedom" has its justice. In fact, whether she likes it or not—and she doesn't—Tony is Myra's immediate responsibility.

His fears and insecurities spring, the play tells us, from his father's death in the war. So, in going off and leaving Tony to his own devices at the end of the play, Myra is either refusing the responsibility (and what of her admirable freedoms then?) or she hasn't realised where her first commitment lies (but she is not stupid).

At the level of character then, the issue seems a bit rigged. One wants to approve Myra's ideas, without wholly endorsing (in that sense at any rate) the way she acts on them; and also to disapprove Tony's defeatism without losing sympathy for his very poignant dilemma. But the play, as I read it, doesn't allow this. Perhaps the ending is less simple than I have assumed. Perhaps Myra's exit should be seen with the same critical sympathy as Tony's pitiful collapse. But it does not read like this. The play of character runs counter to the play of ideas. Each obstructs the intention of the other, so that while Doris Lessing's position is as clear as Wesker's, where "Each His Own Wilderness" stands is finally equivocal.

To turn from these accomplished and original plays to Bernard Kops' "The



Arnold Wesker

Photo: Roger Mayne.

Hamlet of Stepney Green" (1958) is a peculiar experience. This play is a comic fantasy loosely attached to the "realistic" portrayal of Jewish family life. David Levy, the son of the house, is a young man who won't settle down. He has notions about being a great crooner, and making a famous name for himself. His anxiously-solicitous father dies with David's problems unsolved. But by means of David's fantasy that his father has been poisoned and must be revenged, the old man returns as a ghost. (Hence "Hamlet.")

With the ghost's help, David pursues his fantasy-revenge by encouraging his mother to marry his father's old friend, thus freeing himself from her clutching affection. Reconciled with his father-image—the ghost now disappears—David then decides to accept the girl-next-door, whom his father while alive had urged upon him as a suitable bride. Squaring up in this original way to the responsibilities of adult life in the Opportunity State, he banishes his adolescent ambition to croon his way into every British home (via TV, that is), settles down to running his father's herring stall, and marries the girl. This little fairy tale—the author classifies it as "a sad comedy with some songs"—would be more enjoyable if there were less whimsy, fewer (or no) great thoughts, and no songs at all. (It is studded with pseudo-simple lyrics on account of which, it seems all too probable, it was awarded an Arts Council prize.)

Bernard Kops has some talent for domestic comedy, but he is also very keen to be both wittily serious (Q. "Are you—a ghost?" A. "What's in a name?") and poetical:

David (sings):

*Silver trout are sleeping in heaps upon the slabs,
With mackerel and lobsters and lethargic crabs.
The dead are busy sleeping eternity away,
They cannot go out shopping on this fair summer's day.*

For these, he has little talent. David Levy's fascination with the bright lights of stardom might, in a realistic portrayal, be worth hearing about. As it is, one makes what one can of the comedy, and tries to forget about the rest.

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

Editorial and Publishing Office:

5, Caledonian Road, London N.1.

Tel. TERminus 8248

Distribution office for North America:

20 S. Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Registered as a newspaper. Entered as second class matter, Post Office, Philadelphia, Pa.

STANDARD RATES

Great Britain and Abroad (Sea Mail)

Three months 8s.; six months 16s.; one year 30s.

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By Sybil Morrison

MONSTROUS MAGNET

How can he (Nehru) talk about strength and firmness in the same breath as non-alignment?—The Daily Telegraph, Nov. 2, 1959.

LAST week, in a front page Editorial, Peace News took pacifists to task for being "starry-eyed" about India, which stricture very much surprised me! That many believers in the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence were disappointed and disillusioned by Nehru's armaments is true, but "disappointed" scarcely has the same meaning as "starry-eyed"!

Because some pacifists had hoped for an example of peaceful measures from India when once there was freedom from a foreign rule, does not mean that they were either blind to the difficulties and the acute problems with which the new Prime Minister of India was confronted, existing as his country did, in a world that accepts war, and a world situation fearfully filled with tensions and with violence, or that they expected a completely pacifist government to emerge.

That indeed would be "starry-eyed." It is non-pacifists, not pacifists, who refer to Mr. Nehru as a pacifist and condemn him for resorting to violence; pacifists fully realise that Nehru's non-violent resistance to foreign rule did not necessarily arise from a moral conviction that all violence must be wrong and therefore eschewed. They rightly contend that if a nation is to be condemned for the use of armaments in any given circumstance, then all nations must be so condemned.

The words "strength" and "firmness" in the context with which Nehru has recently used them, certainly seem to mean the strength of arms and armies, and the refusal to flinch before attack. The reaction of the Daily Telegraph correspondent to this meaning is one of astonishment that Nehru would be prepared to fight against the Chinese without the assistance of allies.

This conception of a world divided into two armed blocs, each of them operating as a monstrous magnet to which the nations nearest are irresistibly drawn, has been so indoctrinated into the minds of the ordinary newspaper reader that such statements are accepted without question.

Nehru is not Gandhi; nor can it be guessed what Gandhi would have called upon his people to do in the present circumstances, nor, for that matter, whether they would have responded. So long as the whole world accepts the idea of "strength" as military strength, and "firmness" as military resistance to attack, it is not possible for pacifists to offer ready-made solutions to particular situations which arise from a basically military policy.

Pacifist principles do not necessarily result in easy answers to tensions and dilemmas brought about by the "cold war" manoeuvres of the great power blocs. These principles involve an entirely different interpretation of the words "strength" and "firmness." Strength would mean an inner certainty that arms must not be used; the strength of that certainty would induce in the person who held such a moral conviction, a steadfast and unflinching attitude towards all provocation, and all persuasions to alignment, which could rightly be called "firmness."

Some day the great East and West blocs will either have to solve their differences or fight the war they all declare they do not want. Clearly this perilous and pernicious attraction of gravitation must somehow be severed; some country, strong in its immunity to alignment's magnetic pull, could break it down by standing firmly without arms and armies, strong in its refusal to be provoked, and its certainty of moral power.

Nehru's stand against alignment with either of the two giant blocs is both admirable and enviable, but it is not to be confused with war renunciation; it is the nation that has the unconquerable will to refuse participation, not only in arbitrary alignments, but in any kind of war preparation, which will take the first step towards breaking through the war-welded barriers of militarily committed nations. There is still time for this country to set the example, and the moment is opportune.

People and places

IT'S CLASS THAT COUNTS

MR. DOUGLAS JAY wants to change the "class image" of the Labour Party. Some of his colleagues set about this task a long time ago. The connection between Mr. Gaitskell's closest friends and the working class is, to put it mildly, tenuous.

Mr. Roy Jenkins "... is now, with his polished, adenoidal voice, one of the smoothest of the Labour members. He married the town clerk's daughter in Westminster, writes scholarly books about Dilke or Mr. Balfour's Poodle, and gives sought-after dinner parties in his Ladbroke Square house.

"Much though the Labour leaders enjoy good parties, there are some rank and filers who feel, after observing him hob-nobbing with a duchess or in company with Princess Margaret, that he may be a little too socially successful."

The Observer went on to describe Mr. Anthony Crosland as "One of Mr. Gaitskell's closest friends ... His Boltons flat, with his Bratby's, his rare jazz, his collections of Left-wing songs and socialite guests, has much of the paraphernalia of the playboy; and little to suggest the solid middle-class origins, or the Member for Grimsby."

At about the same time, the Daily Express described a dinner party at Mr. Woodrow Wyatt's home: "Dinner is laid for twelve at the London Regency home of Mr. Woodrow Wyatt ... Lady Moorea Wyatt—who, as I reported yesterday has been writing glowingly in a British magazine about the comforts of her home—is seen (in the photo) helping her maid to put the finishing touches to the table, with its tall green goblets, its heavily cut glass."

After all this social glamour, it was a relief to read Malcolm Muggeridge in the New Statesman: "My own personal participation (in the Election), such as it was, was to go and speak for Fenner Brockway at Eton and Slough. For me his is a nostalgic figure of the old Labour Party into which I was born, and therefore more sympathetic than the later U intake."

During the Election, the Labour Party talked about the two Britains. I am sure there are two Britains—but which one do you belong to, comrade?

New Commons ... new Quakerism

FOUR Quakers, or attenders of Quaker meetings, are in the new British House of Commons.

In its issue of October 16, "The Friend," the unofficial Quaker weekly journal, named the following four MPs: W. Glenvil Hall (Labour), Philip Noel-Baker (Labour), Sir John Barlow (Conservative) and Frederick T. Willey (Labour).

Not one of them is a pacifist.

Crime does not pay ...

THE men who were jailed in the summer for their non-violent action at the missile base near Omaha, Nebraska, have been separated.

Twenty-six-year-old wheat farmer Don Fortenberry has been moved to Seagoville, Texas; Ed Lazar, a 24-year-old graduate of Columbia University, who spent two years in the US Army, is now at Danbury, Connecticut; and Karl Meyer's new address is Allenwood, Pennsylvania. He is 22, a staff member of the Catholic Worker House in Chicago and son of Congressman William Meyer of Vermont.

Bradford Lyttle, 31, alone remains at the Federal Prison at Springfield, Missouri. He is well known for several years of peace education in the US and as the author of various pamphlets and booklets on militarism and non-violence.

Brad has also been round the world studying peace movements in a score of countries. When I met him in London I was tremendously impressed by his energy, sheer hard work—and his grasp of a great mass of military and technical vocabulary, facts and figures.

In fact, I have more than a vague suspicion that his was the master mind behind the booklet, "This is the Missile," which was

put out by the Omaha campaigners and reprinted in Peace News on September 11.

He will be pleased to know that reprints of this article are proving very valuable in Britain too.

Brad, incidentally, with typical energy and enthusiasm, has volunteered to join the team now assembling in Ghana to protest against the French nuclear tests in the Sahara.

It is not yet clear whether the non-payment of their \$500 (maximum) fines will extend the six-month (maximum) sentences of these four criminals. Ed Lazar and Don Fortenberry refused to co-operate with the authorities in the federal jail at Springfield, and this could easily delay release for these two.

Meanwhile, the approximate date of discharge for all of them is November 29.

... nor do the criminals

OTHERS in jail following the Omaha action are Arthur Harvey, 27, and Mrs. Marjorie Swann (who should both be released around January 10) and Ammon Hennacy (January 24).

Marj. Swann is a languages graduate of Northwestern University. She and her hus-

Mother serves, children wait

Their mother is in prison in the United States. Marjorie Swann, mother of (left to right) Carol, 6, Barbara, 13, Scott, 2, and

Judy, 11, is jailed for six months at Alderson, West Virginia, for her part in the missile base demonstration near Omaha, Nebraska, last August.

Mrs. Swann should be released in the middle of January.



At the end of July she wrote to Judge Richard E. Robinson at the Federal Courthouse, Omaha: "How will we answer our own consciences which have told us to take the action we have if we avoid the penalty? ... The children must know that we care enough ... to children—all children—can we say we would not suffer that they might live?"

'Strontium 90 swells leukaemia death rate'

DEATHS from Leukaemia (blood cancer) have increased in five British counties by well over 50 per cent since 1950.

Four of these "black" counties are mountainous Western counties with a heavy rainfall: Carnarvonshire (80 per cent increase), Montgomeryshire (59 per cent), Cumberland (59 per cent) and Westmorland (140 per cent).

These facts were presented last week in an article in the Lancet of October 22 by Dr. T. Alun Phillips, Medical Officer of Health for the Southern Division of Carnarvonshire Combined Sanitary Districts.

Suggestions that the rapidly rising leukaemia death rate in the counties is linked with the intake of Strontium 90 (which comes down in rain) have factual support, he said.

Dr. Phillips studied figures from local health authorities over eight years, and compared the two four year periods 1950 to 1953 and 1954 to 1957.

The average national increase in leukaemia deaths over these periods was 13 per cent.

In 1920 the death rate from leukaemia in England and Wales was 1.1 per 100,000 population. By 1957 the rate rose to 5.3.

"Areas in the Northern hemisphere," wrote Dr. Phillips, "have deposits three times heavier than the world average. The amount of deposits of radioactive dust varies also within Britain, so that mountain areas of high rainfall show high levels of Strontium 90 in soil and vegetation."

It had been found that the soil at Cwmystwyth, East Cardiganshire, at a height of 1,200 ft., contained three times as much Strontium 90 as soil in Cambridgeshire. The figures for the Borrowdale area of Cumberland were even higher.

This high level of deposit, especially when combined with a low soil calcium, led to high figures for Strontium 90 in vegetables, milk and animal flesh.

CONTRIBUTIONS

ARTICLES, news stories, poems, comments—Peace News welcomes contributions of every kind. Without the help of a great number of writers who often give their help at great cost to themselves, it would be impossible to produce the paper.

But there is one kind of contribution which is most important of all—the contribution that the PN fund makes to running the paper. Without it we should be in an impossible position. Whether you are a writer or not, you can help in this way. Will you?



THE EDITOR

Contributions since Oct. 23: £64 13s. 1d.

Total since Feb. 1, 1959: £855 12s. 11d.

Still needed: £1,644.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 5, Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

band Robert have for some years refused to pay their income taxes because of the use of the money for war purposes.

Robert Swann is himself a seasoned campaigner.

Finally, Ammon Hennacy, veteran tax-refuser, war-resister, anarchist-pacifist and tower of strength in the Catholic Worker group, must speak for himself. I very much hope that next week I shall be able to publish parts of a letter to Judge Robinson which only Ammon could have written.

—Phyz

The 'Summit' . . .

MR. MACMILLAN and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd have public opinion in Britain behind them in wanting the "Summit" meeting as early as at all possible, in order not to lose "the impetus of the last twelve months' gradual improvement in East-West relations." The new trouble between China and India is by itself enough to amount to a powerful reason for an early date. There are so many anti-Summit influences in the world that they endanger the success of the meeting—and even of its taking place at all—if they are allowed to develop for a number of months.

President Eisenhower, after a struggle with President de Gaulle about the date of the preliminary Western pre-Summit conference, has abandoned his original wish that the real "Summit" meeting should take place before the end of the year.

To the Americans this means that he will have to go to the "Summit" meeting at an inconvenient time, after Congress has begun its final session before next year's Election.

The argument about dates and consequent delay is due to President de Gaulle, and it is immaterial whether the reason for his delaying tactics is his determination to assert France's equivalence with the United States and Britain or his wish first to explode his atomic bomb in the Sahara—both come to the same thing.

Leaving aside various other Western internal squabbles, such as whether the pre-Summit meeting should be held before or after the annual NATO conference, now settled by the decision that it is to take place on December 19, two other near-future events are of importance: the Khrushchev visit to Paris early in 1960 and the immediate one there of Chancellor Adenauer.

Although the French invitation to Mr. Khrushchev may, like President de Gaulle's long-pursued delaying tactics, be due mainly to his determination not to appear less important than his American and British colleagues, it is not impossible that the Khrushchev-de Gaulle talks may prove a favourable factor towards the success of the "Summit" meeting—provided always that the French President does not use them only to show off how awkward he can be. He is, after all, the only Frenchman alive who has any chance of keeping the "ultras" of French reactionism in check; and it is known that Moscow's formerly fierce anti-French attitude in the Algerian question has recently softened down considerably.

. . . and speculation

THE most speculative element in the situation is what will be the outcome, unlikely to be openly announced, of the Adenauer Paris visit. French sources credit him with

the intention of persuading President de Gaulle in favour of his new "German Pause" plan, which represents a complete reversal of his former policy. Under the "German Pause" plan the Berlin question would, if possible, be left undiscussed altogether at the various forthcoming conferences and the "Summit" meeting, or at least be pushed into the far background.

The underlying idea is explained like this: if the "Summit" meeting could lead to a general East-West relaxation and decisions tending towards gradual disarmament, the reunification of Germany would become easier because Russian support of the East German régime would weaken as Moscow's fears of possible Western aggression diminished. And as Chancellor Adenauer is firmly convinced of the hatred of the East German population of the Communist régime imposed on them, this reasoning is quite logical.

Nor does the acceptance of this kind of plan seem impossible, the less so in view of the fact that America and Britain certainly want better relations with Russia and have already given evidence of semi-willingness for some sort of compromise on the Berlin issue. They might well come to think that conditions of general relaxation would make it easier to find an eventual solution.

The most puzzling factor in the situation lies further back. It is impossible for the "German Pause" tactical move to dispose of the fundamental clash between German and French interests. President de Gaulle cannot be enamoured of the idea of German reunification and, still less so, of the prospect of an eventual rectification of the Oder-Neisse frontier line between Germany and Poland—and Chancellor Adenauer, whatever he may say as short-term convenience, cannot really be willing to accept that line as permanent.

Whatever agreement the two men may come to is therefore likely to prove a temporary expedient possibly pleasing both for the near future, but even more likely to lead to deeper disagreement in the long run.

Kennan's case and . . .

PROFESSOR GEORGE KENNAN'S BBC Reith Lectures, broadcast two years ago, were a notable event. They expressed the alarm of an observer of widely recognised weight at the fact that in the atomic age the Western statesmen seemed to be incapable of adjusting their minds to the radically changed situation: their unimaginative adherence to traditional assumptions in regard to international relationships amounted to a policy of drift that was likely to end in world calamity.

He returned to the consideration of the policy of the Western Powers in his broadcast on October 27 in the Third programme. He finds that the intervening two years have greatly added to the danger threatened by the development and the extension of the distribution of atomic weapons, and that it has become more urgent that this danger shall be approached on different assumptions from hitherto.

On one level of his thought Professor Kennan is prepared to advocate a general agreement for the abandonment of atomic weapons on the assumption that there shall be an

endeavour by the West to match Russian strength in conventional weapons.

"The resources of the NATO group are in no way inferior to those of the Soviet Union, when it comes to the ingredients of military power. Whether we develop or fail to develop these resources is a matter of our own political choice. . . . Can one seriously suppose that had atomic weapons never been invented the Western nations would not have found means to assure their own security in the post-war period?"

The case Professor Kennan advances is based on the observation that the atomic weapon, now it is possessed by both sides, carries with it the danger that it will not prove to be a deterrent but is becoming a determining factor in itself, "difficult to control, leading to consequences ulterior to our own intentions."

"The fact is that in the complex of motives that might impel an adversary to use this sort of weapon against us today, the one which is overwhelmingly the most important is the reflection that we are ourselves cultivating it and the fear that we might ourselves put it into use."

. . . wishful thinking

THIS is a powerful consideration, and we can confess that Professor Kennan brings to the contemplation of the question he is discussing a grave sense of human responsibility that we are seldom able to find in the pronouncements of our statesmen. Nevertheless, we believe that even he has fallen into the error of wishful thinking, which he justifies on the ground that warfare of some kind is "something that mankind could scarcely hope to rule out entirely at this stage of its development."

The removal of the atomic bomb as a dangerous determining factor would only increase the danger deriving from a fallacy: that in a world in which it has become known how to manufacture the H-bomb it is possible to continue to settle disputes between nations by military means without the resort to atomic weapons.

Except for military engagements between minor states from which the Great Powers can contrive to keep themselves from military intervention, it is apparent that in any major struggle atomic weapons will inevitably be created and used before the end even if they are not available at the beginning.

What we have to face is the fact that, if it is true to say that limited warfare is "something that mankind could scarcely hope to rule out at this stage in its development," then this stage of its development will be the final stage.

Professor Kennan, however, is not satisfied with his own proposal. Prefacing an eloquent passage (which the reader will find on page eight) he says that he puts it forward because it may provide a common ground for agreement among those who are divided in their personal and political philosophy. For himself, he holds that the cultivation of weapons of mass destruction is wrong, "wrong in the good old-fashioned meaning of the term."

What is old-fashioned in Professor Kennan's use of the term is its treatment in this case as an absolute. We believe that man has now reached a stage in his destiny when his future has come to rest on this absolute choice.

Too much for the starving

THE US Government has \$8,800,000,000 invested in surplus foods. Current storage costs are \$1,000,000,000 per annum, and by 1961 will probably reach \$1,400,000,000.

Setting out these figures in "Too Much Food for a Starving World," an article in the September 17 issue of The Reporter, Karl Meyer reports that the 1959 wheat harvest in the USA is expected to reach 1,100,000,000 bushels.

A little over half of this (600,000,000 bushels of wheat) is sufficient for US domestic needs. So this year there will be another 500,000,000 bushels to add to the storage bins.

More for missiles

REPORTS from Washington that some European countries will be asked to pay more for NATO arms and forces are "almost certainly correct," the Times' Defence Correspondent reported on October 27.

Proposals for this will probably be submitted at the December meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Paris.

In 1957 national arms expenditure of the major countries concerned, as a percentage of gross national product (at factor cost), was as follows: Denmark 3.6 per cent, Belgium 3.9, Norway 4.0, West Germany 4.3, Italy 4.3, Netherlands 6.5, Britain 8.4, France 8.6, USA 11.5.

In the same issue of The Times, its Wash-

ington Correspondent had reported that "overseas troops and defence installations take about \$3,400,000,000 out of the country (USA) every year, of which \$1,000,000,000 goes to Europe."

Millions for spying

THE US Central Intelligence Agency's new building, whose cornerstone was laid by President Eisenhower on Tuesday, will cost \$46,000,000, the New York Times reported on October 25.

"As the hub of American intelligence activities," the report said, "the CIA keeps itself so secret that it refuses to say how much money it spends, how it spends the money, who works for it, or what work they do."

The new building, scheduled for completion in July, 1961, will have 1,000,000 square feet of floor space and stand seven stories tall. The CIA was formed in 1946.

No change!

THE Soviet military budget for next year will remain at this year's level: 96,100,000,000 roubles (£8,580,000,000 at the official rate).

The Deputy Finance Minister, Mr. Garbuzov, submitted the Budget to the Supreme Soviet on October 27. Military appropriations will account for 12.9 per cent of the total expenditure, compared with 13.6 per cent for this year and 19.9 per cent in 1955.

THIS IS YOUR WORLD

Mr. Garbuzov said that the ever-increasing total expenditure explained the continual reduction of the military proportion, Victor Zorza reported in The Guardian (Manchester) the following day.

The day before the Soviet Deputy Finance Minister announced that there would be no cut in military expenditure, the Secretary of the US Air Force, Mr. James Douglas, estimated that changes in his branch of the forces could be made "without cutting combat capability."

A Reuter report from Dayton, Ohio, on October 27 stated that Mr. Douglas told a press conference the previous evening that the Air Force would cut its strength by 20,000 men next year as an economy measure.

The cut would be achieved by next June 30, and the money saved would be channelled into missiles, aerial weapons and development of the high-altitude B-70 bomber, Mr. Douglas announced.

Not Thors in the Cold War

THE US Defence Department, the Pentagon, announced on October 30 that it is scrapping production of its Thor missiles.

These weapons cost \$1,000,000 each, Bruce Rothwell reported in the News

Chronicle the following day, and the decision will save about \$100,000,000.

Originally 10 Thor squadrons, each of 15 missiles, were to be assigned to Europe. Earlier this year the number was cut to eight. Now only four will be based abroad—all in Britain.

Two squadrons equipped with Jupiter missiles are to be stationed in Italy and one in Turkey, said the Pentagon.

Also on October 30 the State Department announced that its three big air bases and single naval base in Morocco are being abandoned. All the 12,000 American troops will be withdrawn "as soon as possible."

It is expected that America's long-range bombers there will now be based in Spain.

History proves the military right

THE US Government's treatment of official documents was severely criticised in a letter to the New York Times written by a group of historians from Cambridge, Massachusetts, on October 17.

Policy on the subject was stated on May 7 when President Eisenhower issued Executive Order 10,816.

"The new Executive Order," the historians wrote, "lays down three pre-

● ON PAGE FIVE

Voters' Veto

BEFORE comments on the past Election become too stale, may I, as one who did his best to operate a "voters' veto" against all candidates who refused to support unilateral nuclear disarmament at the last two Elections, pay a personal tribute to one man who refused to compromise his principles for the sake of his Party label?

Robert Davies, Labour candidate for Cambridge City, ran dead straight on this issue. Both of his own initiative and in answer to questions, he publicly and unequivocally supported unilateral nuclear disarmament, including the denial of British air and missile bases to the United States forces, and pledged himself to vote against his own Party in Parliament on this issue, if necessary.

It is true that what is the supreme issue of our day did not receive its due emphasis in the campaign, but that was not the fault of Mr. Davies. It did receive at least as much publicity as any other election issue, and that was mainly due to his influence.

Did he lose or gain support from the stand he took? Both, I have no doubt. But I leave your readers to judge the net effect from the actual figures of the last three General Elections:—

1951: Kerr (Con.), 26,570; Symonds (Lab.), 20,893; Josephy (Lib.), 5,355. Con. maj., 4,854.

1955: Kerr (Con.), 27,059; Symonds (Lab.), 19,932. Con. maj., 7,127.

1959: Kerr (Con.), 24,350; Davies (Lab.), 17,543; De Montmorency (Lib.), 5,792. Con. maj., 6,807.

Sir Hamilton Kerr was strictly orthodox to his Party line throughout. Mr. Symonds was, of course, against nuclear war, but not to the extent of unilateral disarmament. In 1951 this issue was scarcely raised.

My own conclusion is that, if they had had the moral courage to do so, many candidates could have "afforded" to follow Robert Davies' example—though I do not think that "affording" is the prime consideration. What is certain is that those electors and their advisors who expected to gain advantage for the cause of unilateral nuclear disarmament by compromising their vote have been disappointed.—**H. A. J. MARTIN, 23 De Freville Avenue, Cambridge.**

ND—What now?

I WAS disturbed at the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament London Region conference last week-end to hear people talking about "multilateral disarmament," as

requisites before a student is permitted to consult classified defence information in the writing of history.

"First, the head of the agency must rule that access to these records is 'clearly consistent with the interests of national defence.' Second, the historian himself must be determined to be 'trustworthy'—a phrase which could be interpreted as requiring security clearance. Third, his manuscript must be cleared. . ."

The historians of contemporary affairs who signed the letter were John M. Blum, Henry Steele Commager, Frank Freidel, Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., and Boyd C. Shafer.

Objections not tolerated

TWO French weeklies, "L'Express" and "France-Observateur," which should have been on sale on October 22, were seized by the police at the request of the Ministry of Defence.

Later in the day an official communique on the seizure said that "the Government will not tolerate campaigns systematically directed against the army, thus sapping the confidence of the people in it."

East-West TV link-up

A SYSTEM of relay stations is to exchange TV programmes between the USSR, Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Rumania.

= LETTERS TO THE EDITOR =

an alleged alternative to unilateral disarmament. This phrase is used only by people who are deceived or wish to deceive others. It means using H-bombs as weapons of war; it means going to the conference room "clothed," as Bevan would say, with H-bombs and saying you have so many nuclear weapons (or better nuclear weapons or dirtier) that demand settlement of West Berlin or boundary adjustments in a particular way; and it means that you require the best, the largest, and the dirtiest H-bombs and tests and all that go with them.

As a believer in unilateral nuclear disarmament I am not, or any of us, concerned with one country only—we want renunciation by all countries including those who have not yet made it. It is already out of date to think in terms of three countries making an agreement which will not bind any one else. Instead of wasting time in the ND conference chamber with those who haven't grasped the basic case for ND, and should not be there, we should have been discussing our next steps.

We should send someone to UN to represent active elements in ND in Britain; I don't mean formal representation, but active, and therefore I suggest this be done by the London Regional Committee, and forthwith so as, in the first place, to obtain condemnation of the proposed breach by France of the present tests truce before it happens. If we do not stop these tests we will have shown ourselves to be totally ineffective, because French tests would irrevocably change the world nuclear situation.

We need not a change of policy but a more dynamic approach—not repetition of truths which although true by repetition bore. We should counter-attack by telling people now we are utterly fed up with nuclear insanity, that we are determined to get rid of the Bomb quickly so that we can get on with other things, and that even if H-war doesn't come first we won't tolerate another 13 years of nuclear insanity and tension.—**L. PHILLIPS, 31 Gorst Rd., Battersea, S.W.11.**

Jacques le Jeune's book

ROMAN CATHOLIC pacifists, encouraged by the success of their recent conference, might be interested to undertake a piece of work which many people feel would not only assist their cause, but be a valuable asset to the pacifist movement, i.e., the translation of Jacques le Jeune's book, "Tu ne tuerais pas."

While in a Belgian prison, serving a sentence for refusal to enter the army, Jacques was asked by the authorities to write a statement of the case for conscientious objectors;

Agreement on this was reported on October 17 in "Polish Facts and Figures," organ of the Press Office of the Polish Embassy in London.

After the inclusion of Warsaw or Prague in the West European "Eurovision" system, it will be possible for programmes from Rome, Paris or London to be seen in Moscow, and vice versa.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party ended on October 22 a four-day conference in Moscow on problems connected with "political indoctrination of the masses." Moscow radio reported that day.

Dr. Banda's imprisonment in Nyasaland will be reviewed by the Governor next March, the Earl of Perth, Minister of State for the Colonies, announced in the House of Lords on October 28.

"The annual military expenditures of all states today total approximately \$100,000,000,000," Mr. Khrushchev said in his speech at the UN General Assembly on September 18.

President Eisenhower will ask Congress for about \$700,000,000 less for foreign aid next year, according to a report in last Sunday's New York Times.

The US Army has "shelved" a \$7,500,000 irradiated-food plant in Stockton, California, Time Magazine reported on Monday.

The Western "Summit" meeting will open in Paris on December 19 and last three or four days.

this he soon found involved much more than a mere personal account of his views, and he began a hasty but intensive research into the pronouncements of spokesmen of the Church from early times to the present day. On his release he avoided re-arrest until his task was completed; he then served a further term of imprisonment.

Meanwhile, the book was published and distributed by the Belgian Fellowship of Reconciliation, narrowly escaping ban under an act controlling "pornographic literature and publications likely to cause disaffection of the armed forces" (but this is another story). A few copies were circulated in Eng-

Alan Paton, author of "Cry the Beloved Country" and campaigner against apartheid in South Africa, will speak in London on November 20 on "The Christian Approach to Racial Problems in the Modern World." His lecture, one of the Stafford Cripps Memorial Lectures arranged by Christian Action in conjunction with the St. Paul's Cathedral Lecture Society, will be given in the Crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral at 5.45 p.m.

John Foot, West Country solicitor and brother of Sir Hugh (Governor of Cyprus) and Michael Foot, speaks this week-end at a conference on "The Nuclear Challenge and How to Meet It" at Trelohan Manor, St. Ives, Cornwall. With him will be Terence Heelas (Totnes, Devon), one of the Labour candidates who was prepared to defy the whips over nuclear weapons if elected to Parliament. Organised by the Devon and Cornwall Peace Pledge Union and Fellowship of Reconciliation, the conference is to be chaired by Sam Walsh. Visitors may attend any of the sessions.

Following the film-viewing session attended by over 450 people in Friends House, London, recently, British Quakers have issued a supplement to their catalogue of films published under the title "Educating for Peace." Groups using projectors will now have available more than 40 new films in the supplementary list. Subjects covered include nuclear weapons, war and violence, refugees, and "War on Want."

*Price 1s. Supplement No. 1, October, 1959, price 6d.

British Quakers have welcomed the efforts of Mr. Selwyn Lloyd and Mr. Khrushchev at the United Nations Assembly to get

In PN next week

The Economic Consequences of Disarmament will be discussed by **MIKE ARTIS**, Oxford researcher, in a review of a pamphlet by Charles Carter.

AND . . .

a new commentary on current affairs begins in Peace News next week. It will be provided each week in turn by:

ROY SHERWOOD, our diplomatic correspondent and a distinguished international journalist. His special Peace News articles and pamphlets on NATO, Suez and the Middle East have shown him to be an exceptionally well-informed writer in the field of international relations.

J. ALLEN SKINNER, Associate Editor of Peace News and writer and speaker on international affairs. A former trade union worker, he is Chairman of the Executive of the Peace Pledge Union and a member of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

BJORN HALLSTROM, foreign correspondent for a number of Swedish journals and former London Editor of Svenska Morgonbladet. He was one of the first newspapermen to land at Suez after the British invasion, has usually contrived to be "on the spot" in Malta, Cyprus and Iceland at times of crisis. A Quaker, he is in close touch with the Swedish movement against war preparations.

BRUCE ODSBUR, British writer, philosopher and biographer.

land and an attempt was made to obtain a translation then, but the book had too small a circulation to attract much notice in England.

Here is an interesting and rewarding task for someone (or, better still, a group of people) who might be concerned to study the material themselves and to make it available for others. May I suggest that anyone interested gets in touch with Pax for that purpose. I am sure that our friends in Belgium would welcome such help and that PN would give assistance by providing copies and telling more of the story of this book.—**PAT KNOWLES, Hamburg 39, Klärchenstr. 11, Germany.**

MOVEMENT NEWS IN BRIEF

disarmament negotiations moving once more. "We urge that public opinion should support vigorously these new efforts to secure disarmament and in particular will treat Mr. Khrushchev's proposals without prejudice and with the seriousness which they deserve," says a statement issued recently by their Peace and East-West Relations Committees.

"This offer seems to us to present a new opportunity which, if taken up in a generous spirit, can help to increase mutual trust, and create an atmosphere in which real negotiations become possible."

The **British-Caribbean Association**, formed in July, 1958, to "increase friendship and understanding between the people of the West Indies and the UK," has issued its first annual report from 17 Bishopsbridge Road, London, W.2. It had 24 Conservative and 43 Labour MPs among its sponsors.

Door-to-door collections raised £125 for the election campaign of Lawrence Daly, the Independent anti-H-bomb candidate for West Fife. Another £350 came in donations from other parts of the country, but he has been left with a debt of about £250.

The death is reported of the Rev. John Mellor, founder of the South African Fellowship of Reconciliation and author of "Black and White in South Africa."

"A WORLD PARLIAMENT" ? A WAY TO PERMANENT PEACE

GILBERT McALLISTER, MA (Secretary-General of the World Parliamentary Association) TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 7.15 p.m. CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE, W.C.1 Admission Free Questions and Discussion

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another" This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters **DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE** 6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1

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THE VEDANTA MOVEMENT

Monthly Lectures by

Swami Avyaktananda

on

Faiths and World Fellowship

Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, S.W.1.

Friday, November 13, 7.30 p.m.

ISLAM AND PEACE

BAZAAR

Saturday November 14

King's Weigh House Church Hall

Binney Street, W.1. (Opposite Selfridges)

3 p.m. Opening, Hugh Brock, Editor of Peace News

4 p.m. Dora Russell, Story of Caravan of Peace

5 p.m. Antony Bates, Demonstration—The Artist at Work

Art Exhibition, Stalls, Cafeteria

PROCEEDS P.N. AND P.P.U.

POLITICS OLD AND NEW—I

Social democracy - decline and fall

By Alan Lovell

This is the first of three articles on the decline of social democracy and the possibility of "New Politics." The second article of the series will deal with social democracy and the liberal democratic system, and the third with what "new politics" might mean in Britain at present.

THE decline, if not the complete failure, of democratic socialism is now obvious. The British Labour Party has just been defeated for the third election running, confirming a steady trend away from the Labour Party over some years. In France, the Socialist Party is just another group of corrupt politicians competing for power, the supporter and occasionally the executor of one of the ugliest colonial wars ever. The German social democrats, hastily shedding their socialist trappings, declare that they are now a party of the people and not of the working class. In Ceylon a Trotskyist version of social democracy prohibits all criticism (of the Government) in a desperate effort to establish itself as an effective Government. The various Indian socialist groupings are unable to form a serious opposition to Mr. Nehru's Congress Government.

The only parts of the world where social democrats rule with some authority are New Zealand and Scandinavia. In both of these places, the parties have contented themselves with setting up and maintaining a welfare state.

Reactions

The reasons for this decline are much talked about and little analysed. In Britain, the reactions to the Labour Party's defeat have been characteristic. Immediately after the election, the New Statesman published two articles by leading members of the Parliamentary Labour Party, Mrs. Barbara Castle and Mr. R. H. S. Crossman. Mrs. Castle's article was called "Still Socialist" and Mr. Crossman's "The stimulus of defeat." Both articles showed that neither Mrs. Castle nor Mr. Crossman had learnt anything from the defeat, except that Mr. Crossman wanted some administrative changes which would give the leader of the Parliamentary Party more freedom of action!

Nor was the reaction of the left of the Labour Party any more encouraging. Both Tribune and various MPs associated with Victory for Socialism reacted with a "back to socialism" call—socialism being defined very much in terms of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

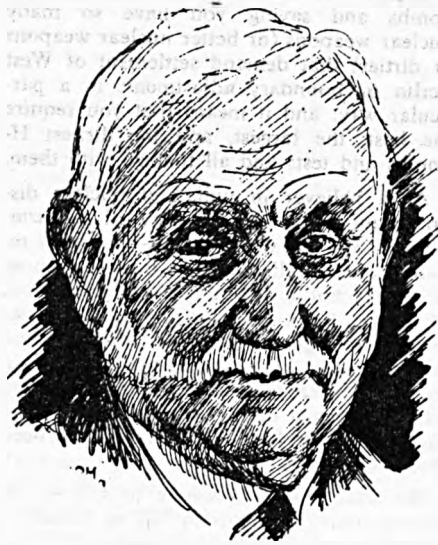
NOWHERE have any fundamental questions of the nature of democratic socialism been made (though perhaps one is a little naive to expect even a leopard to change his spots just

because of an electoral defeat). In these articles I want to point to two central weaknesses of democratic socialism, weaknesses which suggest (to me) that democratic socialism as it is now conceived is a played-out political philosophy.

Weakness

Its first weakness is the complete inability of democratic socialism to deal with the problem of war. Put in present-day terms, this amounts to asking why a party which has at least the remnants of an anti-war tradition, and which claims to be the party of radical protest, has been very hostile to the one radical, anti-war movement that has developed in Britain since the war, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

To answer this we need to look at the anti-war tradition in Britain. The early socialists were not much concerned with war. They, after all, lived in a relatively peaceful society. When



George Lansbury, one of the early socialists, who never accommodated himself to war, and whose socialism retained its idealism to the end.

they did think about it, their answer was that the working classes of the combatant countries should refuse to take part in war and so make it impossible. That answer proved inadequate in 1914 when the British and German working classes more or less willingly

followed their leaders into war. Since then, the British Labour Party and most other democratic socialists have given the same answer to the problem of war as conservative parties; the answer can be roughly summed up by the words "negotiation from strength."

The left of the Labour Party (with the exception of a pacifist rump) has taken the same position. It is not surprising therefore that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament started from outside the Labour movement.

War

This acceptance of war had great consequences, the most profound of which was a loss of faith in the potentiality of man. After the 1914-18 war the belief in the inherent goodness of man seemed a little naive. This loss of belief inevitably affected other parts of the democratic socialist outlook. Gradually, the more revolutionary parts of the outlook were abandoned. In place of the belief in a complete revolution in human life was put a belief in economic change that would make existing society more rational and just. A concern for the quality of human life disappeared completely from Labour Party thought.

Christian co-existence or co-operation?

By E. PHILIP EASTMAN

Improved relations between the Churches of the East and the West—an important factor in reducing world tension—resulted from the recent meeting of the World Council of Churches on the Island of Rhodes, described below by E. Philip Eastman, Secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. Sensational reports in the world press of moves towards Church unity appear to have halted immediate prospects of further talks and a meeting which was to have been held in Assisi between Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox representatives has been postponed indefinitely.

"AN organ of divine providence to bring the Churches together," that is how Archbishop Iakovos recently described the World Council of Churches.

This leader of the Greek Orthodox in North and South America may of course be prejudiced for he is one of the Council's five presidents. But he believes that the meeting of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches on the Island of Rhodes was "very successful" in building stronger relations between Eastern and Western Churches.

A very different impression was given by reports in the daily press during August. This was the first time the World Council had held a major meeting in a country dominated by the Orthodox Church. But it also provided an opportunity for conversations with Roman Catholics which the press found sensational.

Roman Catholic Initiative

There were delegates from several Eastern Orthodox churches, and two observers from the Russian Orthodox—for the first time. They gave a dinner in honour of the Roman Catholics present, who included Father C. J. Dumont, a Dominican from Paris, and Dr. J. G. M. Willebrands of Utrecht, Netherlands, secretary of the international Roman Catholic Conference on Ecumenical Questions. This was considered remarkable.

The atmosphere was charged with "wild surprise" concerning closer relations between the Vatican and the Ecumenical Patriarchate and there was speculation about the attendance of Orthodox priests at the Ecumenical Council called by Pope John XXIII. But in fact the Ecumenical Patriarchate had given no authorisation for any conversations between the Eastern Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Church.

Fears have been expressed in Protestant churches that eventual re-union between Rome and Constantinople would exclude

Protestants. But Orthodox Archbishop Iakovos has given assurance that:

"The Eastern orthodox church will never participate in any conversation with the Roman Catholic Church which does not have as its eventual aim the inclusion of Protestants" and Metropolitan Nikolai of the Moscow Patriarchate has expressed "great sympathy with the ecumenical movement."

Missions Merge

The World Council of Churches Central Committee considered other vital issues also and gave "overwhelming support" for the plan to unite with the International Missionary Council.

Actually this represents affirmative votes by 44 out of 173 member Churches and 22 out of 38 National Christian Councils—opposition has come from two Churches and three National Christian Councils, and most significantly from the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople whose spokesman Metropolitan James of Philadelphia urged the World Council "to remain what it is—a Council of Churches."

Some Orthodox leaders fear that Protestants will proselytise within the areas of orthodox churches, both by propaganda and material aid. On the other hand, Protestant Church and Missionary leaders plead for an improvement in relations between the Churches by united action "to secure full religious liberty for all people in all lands," and to co-operate in social service and work for a just and durable peace.

Reconciliation Possible

Immediately before the Rhodes meeting the Council of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation met in Austria. There Roman Catholic and Protestants united in adopting a statement which declared in part:

"The IFOR is a Fellowship of Christians. The essentially Christian basis and the purpose of praying and working for peace make common action possible. We give thanks to God that He has given us within the IFOR a unity in His Spirit which stretches across all divisions between Christians . . . We welcome into our Fellowship all those who respond to the call of Jesus Christ to follow Him on the Way of reconciling non-violent love . . . More conferences with the Orthodox should be developed."

There is hope then that Christians in all the great Confessions are now realising the unity of the Body of Christ which is a given unity and are responding to the call to work and to worship together to His glory.

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SITUATIONS VACANT

A COMPETENT SHORTHAND TYPIST will shortly be wanted by Friends Peace Committee. Enquiries and applications to The Secretary, Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1.

EXPERIENCED JOURNALIST-CARTOONIST wants fellow pacifist-humanist as partner in launching news-letter with popular appeal. Duplicating experience useful. Donald Rendall, 25 Mansfield Avenue, Weston-super-Mare.

Nyasaland: The first vote against the Government

By Fenner Brockway, MP Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



ON Monday the Labour Party divided the House on Central Africa. I rejoice that the Opposition chose this issue as the occasion of its first vote against the Government.

Central Africa embodies the clearest and most decisive issue within the British Empire. Are 250,000 whites to control the destinies of 6,000,000 Africans? Are the large African majorities in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to be forced to remain in a European-dominated Federation against their will? Is Dr. Banda, vindicated by the British Government's own Devlin Commission, to be kept in prison? Are 538 other political prisoners to be detained for an indefinite period without trial? Is the Nyasaland African Congress, the voice of the people, to remain suppressed? These are issues on which there can be no compromise.

The Labour Party made five demands:

1. The State of Emergency in Nyasaland should be ended.
2. The political prisoners should be released or placed on trial.
3. Constitutional changes should be made in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia so that their Governments may truly represent the peoples at next year's conference on Central African Federation.
4. The right of Nyasaland and Rhodesia to secede from the Federation should be placed on the agenda of the conference.
5. The commission which is to make a preliminary survey should have adequate and genuine African representation.

I am writing before the Government has made its reply to these demands. It is difficult to see how Mr. Iain Macleod can make any real concessions without repudiating agreements made with Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister. The most I can see is some reconsideration of the character of the Federation, reducing the political control of the Rhodesias and substituting a looser economic association, but that would cause an uproar among the settlers.

Caricature of democracy

It is impossible to conceive of a more unrepresentative Legislature, and it is to be extended beyond 1960—which means that its nominees will speak for Nyasaland at that Federal Conference. What a caricature of democracy!

The composition of the Commission to make the preliminary survey is equally flagrant in its contempt for democracy. It will have five Africans in a membership of 26, and these five will be selected by the European-controlled Governments of Central Africa. There will be eleven British members, two from the Commonwealth, and 13 from the Federation, of whom eight will be European. The Labour Party will be asked to contribute three of the British members. I hope they will refuse to have anything to do with a body which cannot possibly command any trust from Africans.

The release of Dr. Banda and the detainees is affected by the judicial decision, to which I referred in an earlier article, that "protected persons" in the colonies are subject to the provisions of *habeas corpus*. Following this judgment in the British Court of Appeal, Mr. Mwenya and 18 Africans in Northern Rhodesia exiled during the miners' strike of 1956 have been released.

Mr. Mwenya made his claim on the ground that the 1939 Order in Council, under which British Governors can declare States of Emergency, was not validly proclaimed. It was not notified in the "London Gazette" 40 days before it came into force. The same complaint could be made regarding the circumstances of the imprisonment of Dr. Banda and his colleagues.

The advisers of Dr. Banda will have to consider whether it is the best course to challenge the Government on this legal issue, which would probably involve protracted proceedings until the case reached the House of Lords, or to use it as a pressure point in calling for the release of the Nyasaland leader and his fellow-prisoners. The decision will probably depend on the Government's reply to Labour's demand for liberation or public trial.

The first round on Central Africa in the New Parliament has been fought, and the Government, with its automatic majority, has won. Before the end of this Parliament Central Africa is likely to become the most critical issue in British politics.

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DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive first post Mon.
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Tuesday, November 3—Sunday, November 15

LONDON, W.1: Nightly 7.30 p.m. (excluding Monday). Mat. Thursday, 2.30 p.m., St. Thomas' Church, Regent St. (behind Mappin & Webb). "People of Nowhere," by James Brabazon. Seats bookable at St. Thomas', GER 7986. World Refugee Year.

Saturday, November 7—Sunday, November 8

MATLOCK, Derby: "The Briars." Vegetarian Guest Ho., Crich Conference — "Penal Practice in a Changing Society — Past, Present & Future." Speaker: Frank Dawtry. Details: Miss E. Cullingworth, 81 Clarendon Pk. Rd., Leicester. PPU.

ST. IVES: W/E Conference, Trelohan Manor. "The Nuclear Challenge." Speakers: John Foot, Terence Heelas. Chair: Sam Walsh. Bookings: H. King, 18 Pevenston Tce., Redruth. PPU & FoR.

Friday, November 6

BIRMINGHAM 32: 7.30 p.m. Birmingham and Midland Institute, Paradise St. Ted Bedford, Peggy Duff on "What Shall we do Next?" CND.

Saturday, November 7

KENDAL: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. "South Africa and Race Relations"; Fred G. Barton. PPU.

Sunday, November 8

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Pacifist Universalist Service. "Theology & Christian Pacifism." Discourse: Dr. A. D. Belden. PPU Religion Comm.

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SUNDAYS

BRADFORD: 8 p.m. Hall Ings Car Park. Open Air Mtg. Bradford PYAG.

GLASGOW: Sundays 8 p.m. Queens Park Gates, Victoria Rd., Open Air Forum: PPU.

LONDON: 3 p.m. Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, W.1. Sybil Morrison, Stuart Morris, Myrtle Solomon, Harry Marsh. PPU.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 7 p.m. 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

Monday, November 9

BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m., 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Mtg. of Kings Heath & Cotteridge PPU.

Tuesday, November 10

LONDON, N.2: 8 p.m. 15 Lynmouth Rd. "Pacifism & the Summit"; Stuart Morris. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.15 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. "A World Parliament." A Way to Permanent Peace. Gilbert McAllister. Adm. free. South Place Ethical Society.

Wednesday, November 11

BRADFORD: 7.30 p.m., Mechanics Institute (Grand Council Chamber). "Communists and Peace"; Colin Siddons. PPU.

LONDON, N.W.11: 7.45 p.m., 23 Russell Gdns. (opp. La Sagette Convent). "Ways and Means"; Sybil Morrison. PPU.

RUGBY: 7.30 p.m., 57 Clifton Rd. "The Work of International Voluntary Service"; John Lynes. PPU.

Thursday, November 12

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Peace Forum: Any Questions? Claud Colman, Sybil Morrison, Allen Skinner, Eric Tucker. Chair: Stuart Morris. Standing Joint Pacifist Ctee.

Friday, November 13

HULL: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Percy St. Open Forum. Panel: Rev. W. Gill, Rev. W. R. G. Sargent, C. Brady, Stuart Morris. Question Master: Violet Mitchell. Adm. free. Collection. PPU.

Saturday, November 14

LONDON, E.17: 3.30 p.m. Wm. Morris Hall, Somers Rd. Aggregate Mtg. and Re-Union. Walthamstow and Dist. Advisory Ctee. for Objectors and Conscripts.

LONDON, W.8: 3-7 p.m. Greater London Community, 13 Prince of Wales Tce. Exhibition, "A Servant Nation Comes of Age," films, slides, recordings. Refreshments. Commonwealth of World Citizens.

Monday, November 16

LONDON, W.C.1: 6 for 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. Current Affairs. Refreshments. Central London PPU.

Tuesday, November 17

SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Ordnance Rd. (off London Rd.). Mtg. World Refugee Year.

Thursday, November 19

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bushwood. Group Discussion. PPU.

PLYMOUTH: 7.30 p.m. Central Methodist Hall, Assembly Room, Saltash St. "The Cross and the Bomb." Rev. J. W. G. Molland, Rev. Abraham Cutts, Rev. Harold Price, Max Parker. Chair: Rev. A. Skelding. FoR.

Friday, November 20

BRISTOL: 6: 7.30 p.m. 7 Kellaway Av. Peace Prisoners' Cards and Speaker: Frida Ehlers. PPU.

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Hunger strike against University's military training

A UNIVERSITY of California freshman, Fred Moore, started a seven-day hunger strike recently on the steps of his college as a protest against compulsory military training after all other appeals had failed.

He had filed an exemption form when he entered the University asking to be excused from military training as a conscientious objector.

"I talked to students and some instructors about my problem with the Officers Training Corps," he points out in a written statement. "Although some were sympathetic, they agreed nothing could be done. I went to the dean of students office and explained my reasons for not wanting to take ROTC."

"They showed me a list stating the exemptions. My case did not fall under any of the exemptions (physical disability, previous military training or service, or foreign citizenship). I was advised to take ROTC if I wanted to attend the University of California. I left the office wondering why the University did not respect conscience."

Much advice

"Many times I was advised to give up my beliefs, take military training and 'get it over with.' I could not bring myself to agree with them."

In an editorial written by Daniel Silver, The Daily Californian declares:

"The problem of conscientious objection, along with a discussion of all other objections to the Regents' policy on ROTC was presented to the Board over two years ago. It accompanied a referendum in which University students by a two to one vote asked for the abolition of compulsory military training."

"No response has been received from the Regents. Two years of silence have greeted an attempt made in good faith by students to alleviate what many feel to be an intolerable situation."

"There is probably no chance for Fred Moore. We cannot hope the Regent will extend one man more consideration than they have shown to thousands of students. We can only hope that where voices of many have been ignored, the cry of one man cannot help but be heard."

Fred Moore told the press that his father, a Colonel in the US Air Force, knew of the protest. "I'm not doing it to hurt him... we just don't agree about the purpose of the military."

Latest information was that University action is pending.

you are invited

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by The Standing Joint Pacifist Committee

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Chairman: Stuart Morris

Published by Peace News Ltd., 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1, and printed in Gt. Britain by Goodwin Press Ltd., 135 Fonthill Road, London, N.4.

LONDON CND TAKES STOCK

By Christopher Farley

"THE rank-and-file of the movement has been told too often what to do, and not heard enough on what it wants to do."

With these words from chairman Michael Howard the "emergency conference" of the London Region of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament opened last Saturday.

The small meeting hall and gallery at Friends House were full, and most of the Region's groups appeared to have representatives. One third of all CND groups are in the London Region.

Three three-hour sessions were packed into one day, and though this enabled most people to speak who wished, it proved an overdose that few present could adequately endure.

Aldermaston March

When the National Executive's decision to hold another Aldermaston march next Easter was announced, a straw vote indicated that 63 people welcomed this, while 110 wanted to march to London from the Foulness weapons plant near Southend. Some people wanted both marches.

The youth CND will in fact be marching from Southend to Foulness tomorrow (Saturday).

In summing up the morning session Bob Caterall announced that "the majority of the people in the Campaign are quite clearly against NATO." This was something, he said, that would have to be taken up with the Campaign Executive.

The CND National Executive was frequently under fire, not only for its authoritarianism but also for its lack of imagination and initiative.

Of all the Executive, only James Cameron, the News Chronicle feature writer, was able to accept an invitation, and he confined himself to two observations.

The first was that the Campaign, with all its hosts of writers, had failed to communicate ideas effectively. This was not easy, however, for "with the best will in the world, you cannot write the same article every week."

He urged campaigners to write letters to the press more often—"angry ones, constructive ones."

End-A-tests-for-ever petition

A PETITION calling for "a permanent end to atomic bomb testing" has been launched in the USA by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (Box 1705, New York 17, N.Y.).

Addressed to President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev, it reads:

"You can remove the few remaining obstacles to a permanent end to nuclear weapons tests under inspection and control."

"On behalf of the human commonwealth, will you place this question high on your agenda?"

"A durable peace demands a permanent end to nuclear tests; comprehensive arms control, negotiated political settlements, and establishment of the rule of world law in international affairs."

"Your historic meeting can be the turning point that will guarantee human survival. We welcome your initiative. We wish you well."

Among those sponsoring the petition are Mrs. Roosevelt, Brig. Gen. Hugh Hester, Dr. Martin Luther King, Norman Thomas, Jules Feiffer, Dr. Linus Pauling, Clarence Pickett and many well-known names in the religious, academic and scientific world and the arts and letters.

James Cameron's second point was that while frequently abroad he was often asked to speak about the Campaign and the Aldermaston marches.

Just after the march last Easter he had been in the Far East and had met a tremendous interest and response. "In certain countries, the way people talk about CND, you'd think it was positively shaking Westminster or something."

Direct action

The evening session was most disappointing, partly because the introductory speakers were such a mixed bag, partly because people were mentally tired, but essentially because the appalling lack of political thought about the Bomb became apparent.

There is no appreciation that nuclear weapons challenge all previous liberal-democratic assumptions. Indeed, after Alan Lovell of Peace News had opened on this theme, it was completely ignored.

Considerable support, however, was voiced for direct action projects, and it is clear that these will play a more significant part in the Campaign from now on. It was constantly stated that marches and meetings were not enough, and that honest objections to disarmament, such as economic difficulties, must be met.

One came away hoping for more rank-and-file Regional meetings throughout the country. But a serious attempt must be made to face the need for fresh political thinking, both in the CND and its difficult neighbour the old "Left."

3,000 PACK NEW YORK HALT-TESTS MEETING

—From Denis P. Barritt

"We the people of the United States would rather die than drop bombs on other human beings. We take the USSR proposals seriously, and support total disarmament, with adequate controls, through the United Nations. We pledge 50 per cent of what we thereby save to the ending of poverty in the world."

MR. NORMAN COUSINS, the Editor of the Saturday Review, believes that if Henry Cabot Lodge were to make such a statement from the rostrum of the UN General Assembly it would infuse new life into the Assembly and give a new hope to the whole world. It could be a turning point for survival.

This he told to a capacity crowd (about 3,000) in Carnegie Hall at a meeting organised by the Greater New York and National Committees for a Sane Nuclear Policy on Sunday night, October 25.

Fall-out facts

One of the most significant factors was the burst of applause that greeted his statement that, whatever one may feel about the policy of the People's Republic of China, it is unrealistic and ridiculous not to have them in the United Nations and in the Security Council. This opinion is steadily growing throughout the United States, and this meeting if nothing else helped to reinforce this attitude.

Dr. Linus Pauling, acclaimed with cheers by the audience which rose to greet him, also made the point of the inclusion of Red China. In his usual style he drenched the audience with facts on the dangers of fall-out.

The next step was towards total disarmament. This need not cause an economic crisis. There was enough capital development needed throughout the world which could more than take up the slack, and lead

NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND MAN'S FUTURE

—Prof. Kennan comments

It is clear that the cultivation of the weapons of mass destruction threatens the very intactness of the natural environment in which civilisation is to proceed if it is to proceed at all.

I must say that to do anything that has this effect seems to be simply wrong, wrong in the good old-fashioned meaning of that term. It involves an egotism on our part which has no foundation either in religious faith or in political philosophy. It accords poorly with the view we like to take of ourselves as people whose lives are founded on a system of spiritual and ethical values. We of this generation did not create the civilisation of which we are a part; and only too obviously it is not we who were destined to complete it. We are not the owners of the planet we inhabit; we are only its custodians. There are limitations on the extent to which we should be permitted to devastate or pollute it. Our own safety and convenience is not the ultimate of what is at stake in the judgment of these problems. People did not struggle and sacrifice and endure over the course of several thousand years to produce this civilisation merely in order to make it possible for us, the contemporaries of 1959, to make an end to it, or to place it in jeopardy at our pleasure, for the sake of our own personal safety. If we are to regard ourselves as the heirs to a tradition and as the bearers of a faith or even a culture, then our deepest obligation must be recognised as relating not to ourselves alone but to that which we represent—not to the present alone, but to the past and to the future.—Professor George Kennan, BBC Third Programme, Oct. 27.

See "In Perspective," page four.

rather to greater productivity. The US should offer to transfer 1,000 of her best scientists to a World Peace Research Organisation to fight disease and poverty.

It was good to see the Chair taken by a member of the New York City Council, a Republican, Stanley M. Isaacs. Finally Clarence Pickett, of the American Friends Service Committee, and co-Chairman of the sponsoring body, concluded the meeting by calling for a moment of silence when all should consecrate themselves to this cause.

The Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy supports the following four-point programme:

- Immediate cessation of nuclear tests by all countries through an inspected United Nations agreement.
- International control of missiles and outer space satellites through the United Nations.
- International control over stockpiling and production of nuclear weapons through the United Nations.
- Support and re-enforcement of the United Nations as an instrument of effective world law.

The offices of the National Committee and of the Greater New York Committee are at 17 East 45th Street (OXford 7-2265).

PEACE NEWS BAZAAR

Sat., Nov. 21 at 3 p.m.

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